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595 have to build another to hold them; blackbird's wives in one,
[787] mocking-bird's in the other. When he saw this in a dream he acquired two or three wives.[89]

When he married the first time, he brought his wife to his home. Later at a dance or a meeting, he might decide to speak to another. When the girl's parents discovered this, they might make her marry him. When he married a third time, they might think the third wife should stay at her own home, where he joined her. A man might keep all his wives in a single house, or they might remain with their parents. But he did not build a separate residence for each.

Plural marriages were sometimes with sisters, but not often. In response to specific questions concerning Navaho and Miwok types of marriage, I was told that a man sometimes married a woman and her adult daughter by another marriage, or a woman and her brother's daughter, but that neither was a regular form of marriage. There was no set preference for marrying wives related to each other, but there was some feeling that sisters would get along together better than non-relatives. Polyandry was unknown.

192 The following words describe the married state: matâtcu'ig, married; sin,âð'kʌðau'g, having a wife; taxavĭ'g, having two wives (from ɣavi'k, two); sin,âð'klc^{h}ða', plural wives (i.e. more than two).

586 Separation and divorce may have been fairly frequent. In-
606 compatibility, infidelity, and barrenness were named as causes.
593 They held that ordinarily a bride could get on with her husband's family if she remembered what she had been taught by her parents: to be industrious, to avoid quarrels and to be unselfish. If a man beat his wife, her parents would have nothing to say: she belonged to him. Even if he wanted to kill her, he could do as he pleased. This sounds much like Moslem despotism and theoretically it was, but actually, it seems, no man would have thought of unrestrained tyranny. The reaction to a wife's infidelity belies the theory.

593 If a man found his wife in adultery, he would say calmly
837

[89] See the tale, p. 405.

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enough, "Perhaps she wants something to eat or wear that I can not give her," and let her go to her lover. He made no attempt to harm either of them. But he would never have anything to do with her thereafter. 593 837 [586]

X left his first wife, who took her infant son with her when she married a Kohuana. The Kohuana could not have been more fond of the boy had he been his own son. For instance, when the lad was returning from a visit to the Mohave, he injured his foot badly. His companions who came ahead reported that he might die of thirst in the desert. The Kohuana step-father immediately rode out to fetch him. X would have nothing to do with his ex-wife. He always drove the lad away with a stick and extended this unkindness to his son's children. People now ask why those children care for X, now that he is old, since he treated them so badly, but they reply simply that he is their relative and needs their help. 593

Women fought to retain the affections of unfaithful husbands. If a man was repeatedly remiss, his wife would give him up to her rival. If she left him for this reason, he might try to persuade her to return but she would refuse. She went to her relatives to live, because her husband was bringing a new wife to his home. However, if they had children, the wife would stay with her children. If nevertheless she decided to marry again, she told no one, not even the children, whom she abandoned there. Such abandonment is confirmed by an incident related below. 586 [837] 587

Ordinarily a barren wife was divorced. It was a common saying that a home was incomplete without children. Occasionally the wife might be kept if she was good-natured and industrious, and an additional wife might be taken. Both sexes were known to be impotent: they were called yĕsa'a'n. 586 [833]

Much the same attitude was displayed to a wife who bore girls. Girl babies were not wanted: they always said a girl was an enemy, because she might some day be married to an enemy and tell how to attack her own people. If the wife of a first marriage bore a girl first, her husband discarded her; but if she bore a boy, his people praised her. 842 586

While the Halchidhoma were still on the Colorado, a woman bore no children, so her husband sent her away. She married another man—it was his first marriage—and bore him a girl. His family made him put her away and take another wife. The woman said it was not right to raise a girl who had no father, implying it was no better than a bastard. It ought to be killed; so she threw the baby into the river. [947]

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593 Since aboriginal conditions are almost wholly a thing of the past, it is not easy to say what was the nature of family life. 592 Relatives lived close together in a village. Two or three families lived together in a single house at times ("when they loved each other so they could not separate"), but such joint households were not common. Joint households were ordinarily comprised of patrilineal relatives.

[602] They take more pride in that family. Of course, they do have respect for all their relatives, but more for those on the father's side.

[115] A description was obtained from Hoot of the composition of 513 the household in which she lived as a girl. She remembers a large 592 house, her father's sister's home. Her aunt, uncle, and their two children slept on the south side; on the north side were her own parents, a younger brother, and herself. The southwest quarter was reserved for her father's mother's sister. Later this household broke up when her parents built a home of their own. There her parents slept on the south side; she herself was on the north side, but she never slept alone. At times the younger brother slept with her, but he, a little boy, would sometimes sleep between his parents. Then she would prevail on a girl friend to [356] stay with her. Cooking utensils were stored on the south side near the door, so as to be handy for her mother when she arose. [574] The rear of the house was left vacant for a visiting relative or friend.

When Last Star was a boy, in his house there were only his parents and his father's mother. He was an only child. His parents slept on the north side ("Parents always sleep on the north side"), his grandmother and himself opposite. The rear of the house was left for storage; food and water stood opposite beside [354] the door. The fireplace was between the eastern pair of main posts.

855 All elders of a household assumed parental relation to the children, feeding, admonishing, and training them.[60] A boy's father or either grandfather made him his first bow, for example. [597] Step-parents assumed the relation of parents to their step-chil-

[60] The special influence of the mother's brother, as among the Hopi, and that of the maternal grandfather, known among the Paiute, was wholly absent.

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dren: nevertheless, they would never think of using parent-child terms for one another. They would be horrified by the reference to the dead. Adoption of children was frequent because of the wars. Even distant relatives would take them. When the child was adult, he would look on his foster-parents as he would on true parents. They have a saying: "never abuse a child, because the day will come when you too will be [as] a child." Yet occasionally orphans and step-children were mistreated. Despite this sentiment, there was a curious detachment toward children. No one would wholly blame a woman for deserting her children if her husband had given her sufficient cause.

An illustrative incident dates from about 1840. There was a Kohuana woman of the Kohuana village at Gila Crossing whose husband had died. She had two little children, a boy of six and a girl of two. She decided that she wanted to live with her relatives still on the Colorado. She thought the little children could never travel that far afoot. So she prepared provisions for herself, sent the children off to play, merely telling them to wait for her, and stole off to join the group that was going. When she failed to return, the boy led his little sister by the hand from house to house, inquiring for her. At night he would take her into the meeting house and build a fire to keep warm. In the morning they would go to someone's house to be fed. They had no relatives there. The boy said, "If I have no relatives here, I will call you all ciyi',[61] strangers." The two were inseparable. People took care of them. When they were grown, he said, "I have taken the trouble to bring up my sister; now someone should take the trouble to marry her." Both have long been dead.

A brother and sister had the highest respect for each other; they would not use obscene words in the other's presence, for example. Yet I received the impression that this had none of the stringency of Crow custom,[62] but was rather our own middle-class attitude.

Relationship seems to have imposed an obligation to be at least friendly and helpful if needed. Today, relatives gather to till each other's fields, expecting no more than to be fed by their host, or they tend each other's children.

Something of this sentiment is reflected in the following tale. In the early days an American beaver hunter living west of the Gila Bend Mountains was friendly with the Maricopa. He had bags of dried beaver skins there. Some

[61] The use of this form (ciyi' instead of kiyi') indicates that he must have been addressing the women.

[62] Lowie, *Social Life of the Crow*, p. 214.